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ABSTRACT

Teachers in the Netherlands were asked what their goals are with regard to the development of values related to labor in their students. The study focused on the role of teachers in education--on their opinion about the pedagogical task of education. Differences between general secondary education and vocational education teachers and differences between teachers in different types of schools were studied, along with differences among economics, social studies, career counseling, and subject teachers in vocational education. Data were gathered through a written questionnaire in which teachers indicated on an interval scale how much importance they attached to each of the specified goals related to labor, how much attention they paid to each particular goal, and why they had chosen that goal. Survey results from 415 teachers showed that teachers not only transfer knowledge and skills to their students but also stimulate the development of values related to labor in their students. Attitudes that teachers wished to instill included the following: one's own effort determines success; values related to adjustment to changing labor conditions are important; and one should stand up for him/herself on the job. There were hardly any differences between teachers in the various school types with respect to the factors influencing their choice of goals. Some variations were noted between teachers of various subjects. (Contains 17 references.) (KC)

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VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND VALUES

REGARDING LABOR

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In the present study, teachers have been asked what their goals are with regard to the development of values related to labor in their students. It shows which labor identity teachers want to construct in their students. The study focuses on the role of teachers in education: on their opinion about the pedagogical task of education. It is an investigation of values regarding labor conveyed by teachers to their students in the Netherlands (Veugelers, 1993). It analyses how teachers want to prepare students for participating in the workforce. In this paper we will concentrate on the differences between general secondary education and vocational education and on differences between different schooltypes in vocational education, especially in the commercial sector. We also will look on the differences between teachers of economics, social studies, career counseling and the subject teachers in vocational education.

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Introduction

Education fulfills various tasks in society. Its three principal tasks are personal development of students, socio-cultural education and socio-economic preparation. In the sixties and the seventies, personal development and socio-cultural education became more important. Education had to give more attention to individual creative possibilities and had to prepare students for future democratic participation in the community. In the eighties, the political and social discourse in Western societies changed and, according to the critics, education was becoming 'a provision for welfare'. The socio-economic task, i.e. preparing students for practicing a profession and for participating in the workforce had to be given more attention. As a result, projects for work-experienced learning were started or changed their ideological orientation whereas in the field of policy and educational research there was a transfer of focus from general education towards vocational education.

According to the critics, the emphasis which, in the sixties and the seventies,was put on personal development and socio-cultural education also undervalued the acquisition of knowledge and skills in education. The 'back-to-basic' movement in the eighties stressed, therefore, the importance of acquiring knowledge and skills. In the nineties, another shift occured in the educational discourse. According to the policy pursued by most Western European countries and by the United States, education should, once again, enhance its pedagogical task. The goal of education nowadays is not only to impart knowledge and skills but also to develop certain values.

We think that this shift is not a natural correction of a false position but an attempt to strengthen the socializing function of education. In post-modern societies, traditional socialization institutions like churches, unions and political parties have lost a great part of their past influence. Comparably, education is still functioning quite satisfactory as a socialization institution and can therefore be used by policy-makers in trying to develop in youngsters the values they need in order to be able to participate in the community. Not only the ideological and philosophical domains are meant by this but also the total amount of motivational elements related to the political and socio-economic systems. These elements are indispensable for the existence and changes occurring in social relations and in the labor system (Klaassen, 1990). The development of values which enable students to perform in our labor system is highlighted in this study.

Our research population consists of teachers who are engaged in that particular educational sector in which the task structure has been reshaped in favor of the socio-economic task, namely the sector educating 15 to 18-year-old students. The Dutch education system makes a distinction between general secondary education and senior secondary vocational education at the level of the mentioned age category. Both types of education have been included in this research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Value stimulation

When speaking about the role of education with respect to the development of values, most people use the concept of 'transfer of values'. According to this concept, education should transmit values to students, this suggesting that values can be passing over. But both constructive psychology (Prawatt, 1992) and critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1989) show that teachers cannot transfer values to their students because students construct their own concepts of meaning and develop their own values. Teachers, however, can encourage students to develop certain values. They can try to influence the development of certain values by their students. Therefore, we have introduced the concept of 'value stimulation'. Teachers can be asked which values they want to develop in their students, which values they propagate by means of didactic materials and educational behavior.

The concepts of 'value clarification' (Raths, Harmin and Simon, 1966) and 'value communication' (Oser, 1986) suggest that teachers can handle in a neutral way, that they do not express values in teaching. But as studies in sociology of education show teachers do express values in their curriculum and in their educational practice (Gudmundsdottir, 1990). Even when teachers clarify certain values or when students learn to communicate about values, teachers are expressing values which they find important for their students.

Traditional educational psychologists like Romiszowski (1981) find that people develop values by means of conditioning. The argument that the teaching and learning process of values is implicit, contrary to what Romiszowski suggests, should, however be a reason for making explicit which values teachers wish to develop in their students. Certainly, not all what is called 'hidden curriculum' can be made visible, but the curriculum used by the teacher in his materials, examples and guidence, can be.

'Value stimulation' refers to a practice used by teachers in order to stimulate the development of specific values in their students. All throughout their teaching activities they express values. A teacher chooses didactic materials in which certain values are built and, in guiding his students, he expresses these values. Students can accept these values, reject them or transform them. Students must take position with respect to the values stimulated by teachers, a position that is influenced by the unequal power relations between teacher and students in an educational setting.

Teachers and the curriculum

The curriculum that is taught in the classroom is not the formal curriculum as it is expressed in governmental curriculum documents or in textbooks. Teachers give their own interpretation to the formal curriculum (Goodlad, Klein and Tye, 1979). They give a personal significance to the curriculum and lay their own emphases on their 'pedagogical content knowledge', teachers construct their own curriculum (Shulman, 1987). Teachers are intellectuals who stress their own professional and personal views on education in their curriculum (Giroux and McLaren, 1989). Teacher' personal values have an influence on their curriculum. This influence is particularly great when teachers wish to develop certain values in their students.

Social-normative qualifications

The above mentioned educational tasks of 'personal development' 'socio-cultural education', and 'socio-economic preparation' can be distinguished only analytically; in educational practice these tasks go together. The preparation of students for labor goes mainly together with their preparation for society. By preparing students for labor a contribution is also made to their personal development.

In preparing students for labor, teachers want to develop a qualification for labor. Concerning the required qualifications for labor, a distinction can be made between technical-instrumental and social-normative qualifications (Van Hoof and Dronkers, 1980). Social-normative qualifications are the values and habits people need for labor. Hurrelmann (1975) divides the social-normative qualification for labor in social-regulative, motivational-normative and politico-normative elements. In this study, the motivational-normative and politico-normative elements have been distinguished in the following themes: 'motives in occupational choice', 'social organization of labor' (division of labor and unemployment) 'labor relations' and 'relations between education and labor'. A social-normative qualification for labor can be aimed at personal adaptation, personal emancipation and collective emancipation (Carnoy and Levin, 1985). By

looking in this way to vocational education, the research follows the suggestion made by Copa and Bently (1992) to expand the narrow focused view on technical competence into a more expansive view on educational excellence. The reseach focus on the pedagogical task of vocational education.

Statistical analysis (cluster analysis) has revealed the following clusters for the distinguished themes. For each cluster we indicate the orientation expressed by the cluster.

SCHEME 1: THEMES OF SOCIAL-NORMATIVE QUALIFICATION FOR LABOR, THEIR CLUSTERS AND THEIR ORIENTATION

motives in occupational choice	
intrinsic motives	personal emancipation
extrinsic motives	personal adaptation
gender and occupational choice	personal adaptation
social organization of labor	
division of labor	
equal division of labor	collective emancipation
assert your own career	personal adaptation
unemployment	
social factors	collective emancipation
personal factors	personal adaptation
unemployment does not matter	personal emancipation
labor relations	
industrial initiative	personal emancipation
adjustment to labor relations	personal adaptation
more equal labor relations	collective emancipation
joining interest groups	-
relations between education and labor	
personal attitude and initiative	personal emancipation
discipline	personal adaptation
'labor relations' in schools	personal adaptation
factors influencing the choice of goals	
adaptation	personal adaptation
collective emancipation	collective emancipation
public policy	-
students	personal emancipation

Before showing the results of this study for the various school types, we wish to give a short description of the different relevant school types.

DUTCH EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR 15 TO 18-YEAR-OLD STUDENTS

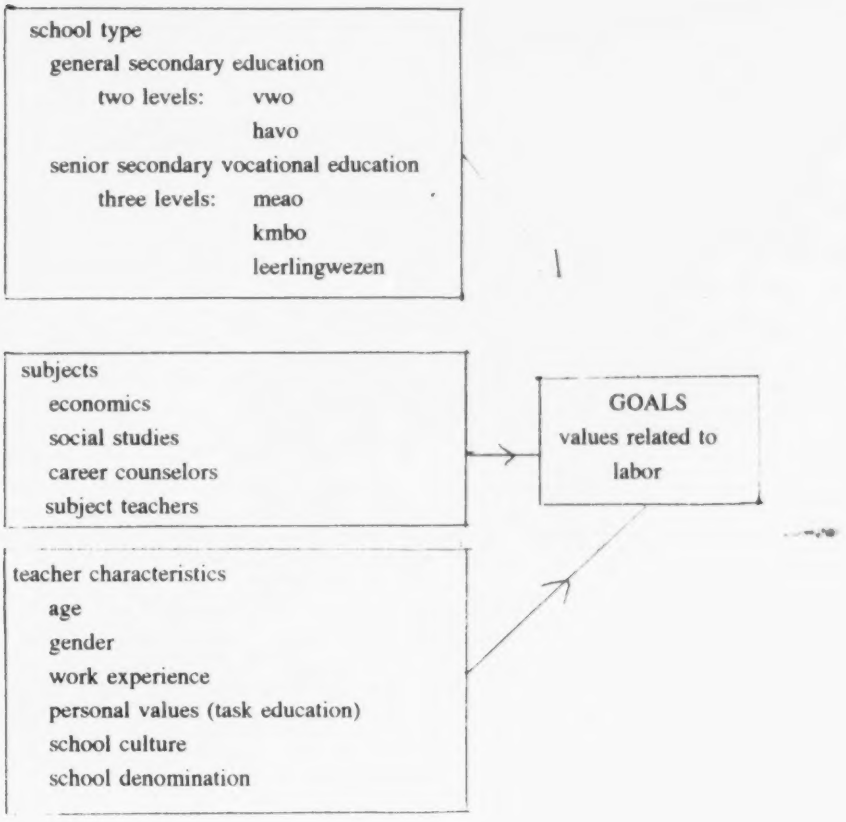
The Dutch education system makes a distinction between general secondary education and senior secondary vocational education at the level of the mentioned age category. General secondary education is subdivided in pre-university education and senior general secondary education whereas secondary vocational education consists of senior secondary vocational education, short senior vocational courses and the apprenticeship system. Vocational education provides training aimed at learning how to practice a profession in an industrial organization whereas general secondary education enables, among other things, familiarization with labor and also offers students guidance in choosing follow-up study. Follow-up education also comprises a specific vocational sector. Pre-university education *(vwo)* lasts six years and prepares students for university training. Senior general secondary education *(havo)* has a course duration of five years and basically prepares students for higher vocational training. Senior secondary vocational education *(mbo)* is profession-oriented, has a course duration of 3 to 4 years and provides training for positions in middle management. Short secondary vocational courses *(kmbo)* are meant for students coming from junior secondary vocational education *(lbo)* and junior general secondary education *(mavo)* who do not choose for or who are not admitted to senior secondary vocational education *(mbo)* or the apprenticeship system. By apprenticeship system we understand that sector of vocational education which provides a combination of school training (one day per week) and practical training under an employer (four days per week). Just like *kmbo*, this sector prepares students up to a beginner's level in a specific profession. Both training courses last two years.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The curriculum of a certain type of school comprises different subjects. Teachers who teach these subjects may have different opinions with regard to the values they wish to stimulate in their students. Teachers do not only differ from each other in point of school type and subject but also in point of personal characteristics such as experience, gender and age. School culture, specific educational

views, assessment of didactic materials and school denomination may also influence the aims of the teachers. In this study, we have investigated the relationship between school type, school subject and teachers' personal characteristics, on the one hand, and the importance teachers attach to different aims in the field of values related to labor, on the other hand. Scheme 2 shows the research design.

Scheme 2 research design



The research instrument was a written questionnaire in which teachers had to indicate on an interval scale how much importance they attached to each of the specified goals and how much attention they paid to each particular goal.
Furthermore, they had to answer why they had chosen these goals. The questionnaire was sent to a random sample of secondary schools and to the

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commercial sectors of institutions for vocational training. The school subjects comprised economics and practical subjects, social studies and career counselling. The TDM-method of Dillman (1978) was used for data collection. The questionnaire was sent to 694 teachers of which 415 (60%) responded.

The statistical analyses used here are cluster analysis and analysis of variance (ONEWAY and ANOVA). The reported results are all statistically significant, see for the results of the whole population and the differences for the variable schooltype scheme 3.

RESULTS

Results show that teachers not only transfer knowledge and skills to their students but also stimulate the development of values related to labor in their students. Teachers' personal curriculum, their interpretation of the formal curriculum includes goals related to stimulating the development of values related to labor. Teachers wish to provide their students with specific values which are part of the 'pedagogical content knowledge' of the teachers. The professional view of teachers is that they do have a pedagogical task.

Before discussing the differences between the groups of teachers analysed here we wish to mention the values which teachers in all types of schools consider important for their students. Teachers agree on the importance they attach to stimulating intrinsic motives in occupational choice. They consider these motives much more important than extrinsic ones. Only to a small extent do they wish to stimulate developing motives such as 'money making' and 'status'. Regarding 'labor division' teachers from all school types score higher on the 'equal-division-of-labor' cluster than on the 'assert-your-own-career' cluster.

Equal division of labor related to gender is stronger aimed at creating possibilities for executing certain activities for both men and women and less directed towards equal division among various professions. As causes for unemployment, teachers prefer to give to their students the social, and not so much, the personal factors: the labor system generates unemployment, according to them. Teachers do not strongly stimulate alternative labor ethics.

In the field of values related to labor relations teachers stimulate both values related to changing labor relations and values regarding adjustment to labor relations. Teachers in all school types also consider 'industrial initiative' (entrepreneurship) a very important cluster. They find it important that their

Scheme 3 TEACHERS OF DIFFERENT SCHOOLTYPES

	schooltype					
	mean	VWO 1	HAVO 2	MEAO 3	KMBO 4	LLW 5	
responsratio		43	58	61	71	75	N=415
labor	3,07	2,96	2,92	3,06	3,21	3,18	significant 4/213, 5/21,3/2
motives choice	2,80	2,79	2,81	2,80	2,84	2,78	
intrinsic	4,30	4,36	4,26	4,28	4,28	4,32	
extrinsic	2,48	2,40	2,51	2,49	2,52	2,49	
gender + choice	1,32	1,31	1,33	1,26	1,36	1,35	
organization	2,92	2,83	2,77	2,83	3,16	3,03	4/231,5/23
equal division	3,38	3,29	3,15	3,25	3,73	3,52	4/231,5/2
own career	2,61	2,48	2,59	2,51	2,74	2,74	
unemployment	2,71	2,72	2,72	2,68	2,72	2,72	
social factors	3,02	2,99	3,03	2,96	3,01	3,10	
personal factors	2,57	2,52	2,52	2,46	2,73	2,64	4/3
does not matter	2,36	2,43	2,36	2,23	2,34	2,43	
labor relations	3,44	3,25	3,16	3,54	3,62	3,64	5/21,34/2
entrepeneurship	3,58	3,44	3,26	3,69	3,64	3,91	5/21,34/2
adjustment	3,25	2,98	2,87	3,35	3,62	3,50	453/21
more equality	3,84	3,66	3,72	3,96	4,03	4,05	543/21
join groups	2,87	2,74	2,77	2,90	2,99	2,93	
education-labor	3,21	3,03	3,06	3,15	3,44	3,35	45/123
initiative	3,84	3,72	3,70	3,73	4,06	3,98	45/213
discipline	2,83	2,55	2,69	2,83	3,16	2,96	4/123,5/1
schoolrelations	2,94	2,70	2,77	2,95	3,14	3,16	54/12
legitimatizing choice							
adjustment	3,56	3,28	3,31	3,53	3,93	3,76	45/123,3/12
collectivity	3,64	3,50	3,38	3,51	3,88	3,94	54/213
students	2,57	2,49	2,19	2,39	2,94	2,83	45/231,1/2
public policy	2,26	2,25	1,84	3,35	2,83	2,62	45/123,3/12

We used the Duncan Multiple Range Test, $p < 0.05$.
Differences that are significant are indicated as follow:
2/1 will say the mean score of the HAVO-teachers differs significantly from the mean score of de VWO-teachers.
32/1 indicates that also the mean score of the MEAO-teachers differs significantly of the mean score of the VWO-teachers.

students join interest groups but they do not strongly stimulate the initiative of joining specific employers and employees organizations.

Teachers in all school types also agree on the importance they attach to persuading their students the view that it is mainly their personal effort, attitude and initiative that determine their future achievements.

developmental process

The social-normative qualification for labor that all teachers in the investigated schools wish to give to their students can be summarized as the development of an individual: one's own effort, initiative and attitude determine one's school and professional career. One should attempt to achieve one's prospects and personal interests in choosing a certain occupation. One should also endeavour, as much as possible, to achieve an equal division of labor. Unemployment is mostly caused by social factors and not by personal ones. Showing a positive attitude with respect to entrepreneurship (industrial initiative) is also very important. One should not only stand up for oneself in one's work environment but he/she should also be able to adjust to the prevailing labor relations.

personal adaptation, personal emancipation and collective emancipation

Our investigation has proved that teachers attach more importance to goals related to collective emancipation than to those related to adjustment. This is obvious in the theme dedicated to 'social organization of labor' which is oriented towards the labor system. Concerning 'labor relations' the difference between collective emancipation and adjustment has proved to be smaller.

Furthermore, teachers find it important that their students acquire both values related to adjustment and values related to changing existing labor relations by endeavoring to achieve a more equal division of labor. Orientation towards adjustment, as elaborated in this study, appears mainly in the theme dedicated to 'relations between education and labor'. Teachers stimulate in their students the development of the view that personal attitudes and initiatives have an influence upon future achievements in professional career. They also stimulate the view that labor relations such as rights and duties, for instance are present in school.

factors influencing the choice of goals

There are hardly any differences between teachers in the various school types with respect to the factors influencing the choice of their goals. According to teachers in all school types, the importance they attach to certain goals is particularly determined by the educational task of the school, the future work situation of

students and the view teachers have with regard to labor.

Analysis of documents on the formal level of the curriculum showed that in educational policy and national curriculum documents no goals are set for values. Only recently, policy has enhanced the pedagogical task of education. But which values schools wish to develop in their students is not a responsibility of the Minister of Education, but of the schools themselves. Also, according to teachers in all school types, government policy and examination syllabus in the Netherlands have little influence on goal setting with respect to this topic.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VARIOUS SCHOOL TYPES

general and vocational education

Teachers in both general and vocational educational institutions attach much importance to political-normative elements, such as 'motives in occupational choice' 'division of labor' and 'unemployment'. Differences between teachers in general educational institutions and those in vocational institutions are mainly expressed by the importance teachers in vocational institutions attach to goals related to the organization of labor and the relations existing between education and labor, in this case, legitimizing selection and allocation in education and work. For teachers in general secondary schools the pedagogical task regarding labor means providing students with an orientation regarding the place labor takes in society and the place it can take in one's life. For teachers in vocational education this pedagogical task also involves preparing students for performance in the work situation and stimulating them to develop values which enable them to adjust to their work environment and feel responsible for their own performance in this environment.

hierarchy in the various school types

Teachers in different school types prepare their students for the achievement of intrinsic and extrinsic motives for labor in professions with unequal prospects and also for different positions within various work organizations. In spite of the different professional perspectives, teachers hardly differ from one another with respect to the importance they attach to the various motives for occupational choice. A difference can be noticed in the cluster dealing with 'equal division of labor'. Teachers in the apprenticeship system and in short senior secondary vocational courses (*kmbo*), preparing students for lower qualifications, score higher on the cluster dedicated to 'equal division of labor' than teachers in senior

secondary commercial education (*meao*), senior general secondary education (*havo*) and pre-university education (*vwo*), preparing students for average and high-level positions. The same pattern can be noticed in the cluster allocated to 'discipline' as an influential factor with respect to future achievement.

different types of vocational education

Teachers in *kmbo* and the apprenticeship system are both oriented towards individual/collective emancipation and towards adjustment, especially adjustment to labor relations. Teachers in general education, in *havo* and, even more often, those in *vwo* are strongly oriented towards individual emancipation. Teachers of *MEAO*, the highest level of vocational education in our study are, compared to teachers of general education, less inclined to stimulate clusters aimed at individual and collective emancipation. Where adjustment clusters are concerned, their goals correspond largely to those found in other vocational sectors.

Students in the apprenticeship system work four days per week, their school curriculum covers only one day per week. This does not lead to a stronger orientation towards adjustment to the goals chosen by their teachers. An apprenticeship type of education does not only imply adjustment. In the KMBO there are a lot of students who want to work but who have not found a job yet. *Kmbo*-teachers wish to achieve adjustment for those students so that they latter can still find a job.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SCHOOL SUBJECTS

The differences we contribute to school subjects are not due to the type of school. The results have been controlled for that by means of ANOVA.

Social studies

Between teachers there are also differences which are related to school subjects. Particularly teachers of social studies attach much importance to the development of the social-normative qualification for labor and pay much attention to this. Teachers of social studies (*vwo*, *kmbo* and the apprenticeship system) differ from teachers of economics and from career counselors in the orientation they wish to develop in this respect. They pay more attention to collective orientation. Teachers of social studies would like to pay a larger contribution to the development of a socio-normative qualification for labor. In fact, they do not have enough time at their disposal for this purpose and whatever time they have left is in danger of

being reduced even more.

Career counselors

Career counselors attach much importance to the theme dedicated to 'motives for occupational choice'. On the other hand, they do not appear to attach much importance to the organization of labor in society and in the work environment. It is suprising that career counselors are no more involved in developing values regarding labor. They regard there task more as providing information. Maybe this interpretation of their role is caused by the circumstance that career counselors in most schools of the Netherlands do not have an educational programme for their students. They only sometimes provide information about different school types and professions. But the tendency is now that schools develop programmes for career education in which career counselors work together with group mentors and teachers of different subjects.

Economics

Teachers of economics in (*vwo, havo* and *meao* schools) pay, compared with teachers of social studies, relatively little attention to the development of a social-normative qualification for labor, an exception forming the 'entrepreneurship' (industrial initiative) cluster. Teachers of economics are strongly oriented towards adjustment. Results show that teachers of economics in *meao* schools, a type of vocational education, do not consider their subject as a practical professional preparation in which, next to conveying knowledge and skills, specific values have to be developed.

Subject teachers

Subject teachers in the *kmbo* and the apprenticeship system, the lower types of vocational education, consider the development of a social-normative qualification as being very important and, therefore, pay a great deal of attention to it. This goes for all themes and practically for all clusters. These subject teachers are both oriented towards adjustment and towards individual, as well as collective, emancipation. For subject teachers, preparing students for labor does not mean only transfering knowledge and constructing skills, but also developing certain values.

See for the results of the *teacher characteristics* (Veugelers, 1995).

DISCUSSION: TEACHERS AND VALUE STIMULATION

The results show that schooltype, schoolsubject, personal characteristics and schoolculture influence the values teacher stimulate in their education. It also shows that teachers in different schooltypes in the Netherlands want to construct another identity. An identity that corresponds with reproducing the social relations in society. But teachers are not only working on adjustment, they also want to stimulate the development of a collective emancipation. For teachers in the Netherlands the pedagogical task regarding labor includes working on changing labor relations in the direction of more equality. In choosing their educational goals not only the subject they teach is important but teachers personal characteristics too. Teachers choice is also shaped by the culture of the school. (Veugelers and Zijlstra, 1995)

'citizenship' with respect to labor

The Dutch government, like other governments in most countries, wishes a reinforcement of the educational task and an improvement of the tie-up between education and labor. These initiatives could, certainly in combination with each other, lead to an increase of the importance teachers attach to the development of values with regard to labor in their students. A social-normative qualification for labor can be seen as 'citizenship' with respect to labor. The concept of citizenship implies, according to us, not only passive participation in society but can also be related to further democratization of the community and increasing the number of possibilities for social participation (Giroux, 1989).

Just like in the community, in the field of labor one can also speak of active participation and of increasing the number of possibilities for participation in labor (Carnoy and Levin, 1985). By preparing students for labor, education can also contribute to increasing the number of possibilities students have in deciding on their occupational career (Simon, Dippo and Schenke, 1991). Results in our study show that 'Work education' means for teachers in the Netherlands not only adapting to labor and labor relations, but also stimulating personal and collective emancipation with regard to labor. One may speak of stimulating the creation of an active 'citizenship' for labor.

different school subjects

This 'citizenship' for labor is not only a task for teachers of social studies although they attach most importance to the development of values with regard to labor. Our study also shows that this pedagogical task is not only meant for teachers of

social studies, but also for teachers of economics and for career counselors. It is good that this pedagogical task is not reduced to one subject, it shows that also the content of other subjects can be made more context-based, here the context of society. As expected, teachers in vocational education find the stimulation of values with regard to labor important but as our study shows, 'Work education' is not only a task for vocational education but also for general education.

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